

Polit. Pamphlet vol 102

THE
CONDUCT

O F
Queen *Elizabeth*,

Towards the

Neighbouring Nations;

And particularly

SPAIN;

Compared with that of

JAMES I

In View of the late and present Behaviour of Great Britain.

*Evimus Troes, fuit Ilium, & ingens Gloria
Teucrorum. Virg.*

By Palæophilus Anglicanus.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. Robinson, near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields,
and sold by the Pamphlet Shops in London and
Westminster. MDCCLXXIX. (Price 1 s.)

OFFICE

Queen's University

Toronto

Neighbouring Nations

and

SPAIN

and

NEW YORK

THE

LIBRARY





The CONDUCT of Queen *Elizabeth*, towards the Neighbouring Nations, and particularly *Spain* ; Compared with that of *James I.*

In View of the late and present Behaviour of Great Britain.



HERE is not, perhaps, a more remarkable Contrast in the whole *English* History, than what is naturally formed, by a Comparison of the Two successive Reigns of *Elizabeth* and *James I.* The former, for such a Length of Time, was the most illustrious in our Story, as the latter was undoubtedly the most obscure and contemptible. One of these Princes dissipated the gloomy Clouds, which eclipsed her first Arising, and shone with uninterrupted Lustre to the End of her Course : While the other, during the whole Period of his, had scarce any Thing bright in his Aspect, or benevolent in his Influence. The Difference in their Conduct, which was founded in that of their Dispositions, was the Reason of the different Appearances they made ; and his was dim and despicable, who

had the widest and least embarrass'd Sphere.

When Queen *Elizabeth*, on the Demise of her Sister, succeeded to the Kingdom, she found it in a weak and distracted Condition: The Inhabitants divided in Religion; one, and by far the more numerous Party, abhorring the Errors of Popery, and detesting the Cruelties of that Clergy; and the other, promoting both with an ungoverned Rage and Fury.

Calais, our Key of *France*, that was the last Remains of our Acquisitions in that Country, and which we had retained for between Two and three hundred Years, just wrested, by them, out of the Hands of the *English*, and the Expedition undertaken presently after against *Brest*, (which, if it had not miscarried, would have retrieved the Nation's Honour, and made some amends for its Loss) unhappily defeated. The Exchequer almost emptied by this unprosperous *French* War, and the Disposition of the People thus rent into Factions, and disheartened by Misfortune, not very free to supply it. This was the melancholy Situation of Affairs at the Time of her Accession.

A Treaty of Peace was set on Foot just before her Sister's Death, between *England*, *France* and *Spain*, and was now negotiating at *Cambray*, in which (tho' in the Infancy of her Reign, so inauspiciously commenc'd,
with-

without the Support of any potent Alliance, and deserted by the King of *Spain*, in whose Quarrel with *France*, the late Queen, his Wife, had involv'd us, and lost *Calais*) she had the Address to extort from the *French* King, an Engagement to restore that Place to her in eight Years, or the Sum of Five hundred thousand Pounds instead of it; and we shall see, that in a Quarter of that Time, she might have had it surrendred into her Hands, upon submitting to some Conditions; which a just Care of her own Kingdom, and a generous Compassion of an injur'd People, whom she only could relieve, would not suffer her to comply with.

For, not very long after the Conclusion of the aforementioned Treaty, the *French* King (whose Son had married the young Queen of *Scots*, and who was thereby in effect become Master of *Scotland*) intending to stop the Progress the Reformation was making there, raised an Army in *Germany*, by Leave of the Emperor, which he transported thither, erected Magazines, and put Garrisons into the Port-Towns, and sent a Squadron of Men of War to lie in *Edinburgh* Firth. The Queen and Council of *England* lookt upon these Proceedings of theirs, with a watchful and jealous Eye, they appearing like a Design of disturbing *England* on that Side, tho' they pretended it was only for bridling the rebellious

ous Zeal of the Reformers : And accordingly, vigorous Measures were entred into, both for supporting the Reformation there so effectually, that it should be out of the Power of *France* to destroy it ; and also, for securing our selves from those Dangers which seemed more immediately to threaten us : But this was not by treating with them, which there was no Reason to believe we could, but on Terms more *disadvantagious* to us, than the *Issue* of a War could well be supposed ; but, by making them *feel* we were *stronger* than they, and *driving* them out of that *Station* wherein they were dangerous to us. In order to this, *Berwick* was put into the best Posture of Defence, and a strong Fleet instantly equip'd, and sent into *Edinburgh* Firth, not to shew the *French*, lying there, that we had one, but to destroy or force them out of it. They executed their Commiſſion with great Resolution and Bravery, and spread such a Terror thro' the *French* Ships and Garrison, as reach'd their very King, and produced the aforesaid Offer of restoring *Calais*, if the Queen would recall her Forces from thence, which they were not able to withstand, and suffer them (while she stood neuter) to root up the *Seed* of the *Gospel* which began to flourish there, and fetter the Liberties of that Nation ; but she preferred the Tranquility of *Scotland*, and the Advancement

ment of the *Reformation* there, which must promote the Prosperity and Safety of her own Dominions also, to the lesser Advantages she might reap by the Possession of that Town. Her Firmness on this Occasion, constrained them to think seriously of Peace, and *stoop* to ask it, which her Majesty concluded with them, upon such Concessions, as answered all the valuable Ends of her engaging in that War. How glorious a Specimen was given in this whole Transaction of her *growing Grandeur*? And how hearty and unanimous were the Encomiums and Congratulations of her saved, obliged Neighbours and Subjects? *Good God! what a Change is there in the Face of Things? to look back, and see a great King offering the Key of his Country to a Queen of England; for no other Consideration, but that of letting him alone: And to behold the King of Spain, at this Time, inexorable to our Proposals of Amity, unless we will give up to him Gibraltar, (the Key of the most valuable and extensive Branches of our Trade) which we purchased at an immense Expence of Treasure and Blood, have had confirmed to us once and again, by that very Prince who now demands it; and have defended against a Siege, by which he endeavoured to deprive us of it. How fortunate is it for us, that we have now a KING upon the Throne, who can draw a sharper Sword than the greatest*
of

of his *Prédeceffors*, and scorns to be out-done by any of them in the Use of it. While this is our *Happinefs*, we cannot be in Fear of a declining Power, which *Queen Elizabeth* subdued in its highest *Exaltation*. To return from this Digression,

For the Two following Years this mighty Woman was at quiet, and improved that Opportunity to provide against future Troubles. She augmented and repaired the *Royal Navy*, furnishing it with Men, Provision and Stores, in such Goodness and Plenty, that she became indeed, as she was justly stiled, the Sovereign of the *Northern Seas*. She begun the Manufacture of *Gun-Powder* at Home, which had always hitherto been imported from Abroad; that having it henceforth in her own Hands, she might run no Hazard of entirely wanting, or paying an extravagant Price for it, at the Pleasure of others. She founded a great Number of Brads and Iron Cannon. She stored her Armories with Weapons, inforced her Garrisons, and cherished in her Subjects, of every Degree, a *Disposition* to Arms, and a *Thirst* of Glory.

While *England* was basking in the Splendor and Warmth of her Government, *France* was miserably embroyled with a Civil War. That Court having violated the Edict of *Nants*, and in many Instances, oppressed the Protestants; for the preserving of whose Liberties,

berties, *Henry IV.* had granted and made it perpetual: They took up Arms, and stood on their own Defence. But they quickly found their own *Weakness*; and that, though they might for a While, *if closely united amongst themselves*, make a brisk Resistance, and delay their Fate: Yet, unless they had the Support of some potent Foreign Ally, they must at Length fall a *Sacrifice* to the *Rage* and *Blood-thirst* of their Enemies.

In this Distress they had *Recourse* to our Queen for *Relief*, making some *advantageous Overtures* to gain her. Her generous Soul, pitying their deplorable Condition, entertained their Proposals, and undertook (not to intercede for them) but to uphold and assist them.

The *united Menaces* of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, could not deter her from entering into, and vigorously prosecuting, those *just* and *charitable* Engagements; which were become requisite, not only in Behalf of those brave Confessors, but in Defence of her own Rights, and her Subjects *Liberty of Trade*, which the *French* had of late infring'd, by seizing several *English* Ships on the Coast of *Brittany*, confiscating the Cargoes, and refusing the Owners Restitution.

These Hostilities, as well as the Persecution of the *Hugonots* were set on Foot by the Duke of *Guise*, and his Brother; They were become

almost *Masters*, both of the King and Kindom of *France*, directing every Thing at their Pleasure. The Queen of *Scots* was their Neice, and all their Desires and Views, next to the possessing themselves of the *absolute* Sovereignty of *France*, centred in placing of her in Queen *Elizabeth's* Stead, upon the *English* Throne.

It was partly with this Intention they pursued the Destruction of the Protestants, with such *Eagerness* and *Precipitancy*, to the *Hazard* of the Kingdom's Ruin, that being free'd of all Embarrassments from that Quarter, they might more successfully employ their Arms against Queen *Elizabeth*, and accomplish their *Grand Design*. But her seasonable Assistance of the Protestants (which they did not take into their Reckoning) defeated their Project, and cut out Employment enough for their *turbulent* Spirits at Home. She sent over Six thousand Men, and a *proportionable* Sum of Money, as she had agreed; and, in lieu of it, she had *New-haven* put into her Possession, to keep, till *Calais* should be exchanged for it.

And to distress her *Adversaries* the more, as well as to give her *trading Subjects* a Reperation for the Damages they had sustained by the taking of their Ships, she granted them *Letters* of Marque for fitting out *Privateers*, which they did in such *Shoals*, and
ply-

plyed so incessantly with them upon the *French Coast*, that they soon block'd up *their Trade*, and made themselves ample Satisfaction.

The *French Court* found they had taken too much *Work* upon their Hands, and resolved, *at any Rate*, to get rid of *some*, that they might pursue the rest with *greater Application*; so they offered a *Pacification* to the Protestants, who too *precipitately* accepted it, upon the *base ungrateful* Condition of assisting their late *Persecutors* against their kind *Protector*, and joyning with them, in *attacking* that *very Town*, which they *themselves* had so lately put into her Hands. But, for all this *additional Strength*, the taking of *Newhaven* prov'd so difficult a Task, (of which they had certainly been *forced* to raise the *Siege*, had not our *Queen*, *commiserating* her Garrison, which the *Pestilence* was destroying, more than the *Besiegers* could, and not thinking it worthy the Charge of a *Defence*, order'd the giving it up) and the *English* so pestered and harrafs'd them *by Sea*, that they did not conceal their Desire of an *Accommodation* with *Queen Elizabeth* also, which they *perfected* with all the *Speed* they could, to her Contentment, and, the Joy of the *French* universally, who, *howmuchsoever* distinguished from *one another* in Points of Religion, were *unanimous* in the Apprehension, that their

Country could not be *secure* from the *Danger* of a Second *English* Conquest, while so *intrepid* and *enterprizing* a Genius as she, had any *Footing* in it.

But, in less than four Years Space, the *Pacification* was forgot, and the restless *Hatred* of the *Guises* broke out afresh against the *Hugonets*. They were necessitated then to *postpone* their Fears of Queen *Elizabeth's* conquering *France*, to their *Dread* of *present Extirpation*, and betake themselves to her once again, as their *Refuge* and *Deliverer*.

Tho' they had little Reason to think she would *regard their Suit*, yet, having more *Greatness of Soul* than they had *Merit*, she forgave their past *Treachery*, and took them *once more* under her Protection.

This put a full Stop for the Present, to the *violent Proceedings* of that Court against them, which found no Hope of *destroying* them in that open Way, while they were so upheld and *assisted* by her, but gave *Birth* to a *new* and *subtil* Contrivance of doing it in so *unexpected* and *sudden* a Manner, as should leave no Possibility for her to *interpose*, or them to *escape*.

A *new* and *absolute* Reconciliation with them was pretended; and, as the most *unexceptionable* convincing Proof that could be of the Court's *Sincerity* in, and *Desire* of increasing it, the *French King's* Sister was
gi-

given to the young King of Navar, the Head of their Party.

To their *Nuptials* which were celebrated at *Paris*, with the most inviting *Pomp*, all the *Great Men* and *Chiefs* of the *Protestants* were (on *Pretence* of doing them *Honour*, and sealing a new and inviolable *Friendship* with them) summoned from every Part of *France*. Thither the wretched unthinking *Victims* flock'd, deceived by the specious *Appearances* of their *Murderers* *Complaisance* and *Good-will*; and were there, (weltering in *Wine* and *Jollity*, and intoxicated with *Excess* of *Delight*) all of them, except *Navar*, most barbarously and instantly cut off. At the same Time, the vulgar *Herd* of them thus robb'd of their *Leaders*, were the more easily surprised, and massacred in *Thousands* throughout the whole *Kingdom*.

While they were projecting this *Infernal Scheme*, they amused *Queen Elizabeth* with a *Proposal* of *Marriage* between her and the *Duke of Alençon*, the *French King's* youngest Brother, which, they pretended, would confirm and strengthen their late *Alliance* with her, in which she had included the *French Protestants*. I would not have my Reader infer from hence, That the *French Court*, which does not consist of the same *Individuals* now that composed it then, may not be our very sincere and

cor-

cordial *Friends at this Time* : Or, *That there is any probability they mean, or secretly do us any Ill, while they profess an unmoveable Affection to us; for this would be unmannerly and absurd, when His Majesty, in his last most Gracious Speech, has, in very strong Terms, exprest his Confidence in them, in which, I am sure, it becomes us to acquiesce : We may indeed keep alive a little Grain of Suspicion, that it is possible we may be again deceived, where we know that once we have been : However, the present Ministry shew such extraordinary Caution of this, that it renders every Bodys else needless.*

To return, When the execrable Deed was done, which was a most outrageous Violation of that *Alliance*, they dispatched an Ambassador to *disarm* her *Resentments*, which was all they were now in pain for, by the most exprest and solemn *Protestations* of their Esteem, Devotion and Attachment to her particular Interest, and to charge the *Hugonots* as the *Procurers* of their own *Destruction*, by framing a Conspiracy against the King's Person and Government, which nothing but so sudden and general a *Stroke* could have prevented.

These *Insinuations* and *Compliments* had hardly prevailed to restrain her from *re-venging* this *unspeakable Cruelty* to the Protestants, as well as *Affront* on herself, (she being

ing their *Guarrantie*,) had not the many *imprudent Steps* they had taken of late, their own *intestine Jealousies* and *Feuds*, with their *perfidious Behaviour* to her in the Business of *Newhaven*, besides, the *Impossibility* of recovering the Dead, gone far in slackning her Zeal and Concern in it. But (what I mainly aim at shewing,) The Awe of her *Anger* and *Power* which she had imprest on *France*, appeared *conspicuously* thro' their whole Carriage in this *Tragedy*; and in the *remarkable Satisfaction* the King and Queen-Mother exprest on their Ambassador's *Assurance* that she would continue her *Friendship* with them.

This King dying, *Henry III.* his Successor, intending to root out the Remainder of the *Hugonets*, set his Heart upon gaining her from them to himself, and officiously renewed with her Minister at *Paris*, the League that had a While since been made at *Blois*, between her Ambassador and the late King his Brother : But he insisted earnestly on inserting therein, an *explicite Promise* of her defending him, as her Ally, against any Opposition might be made to him, tho' on the Account of Religion it self. I confess, I am ignorant of what Motives could engage her to make such a Concession, so unlike her former Conduct; yet, his urging it so importunately, and entering into Hostilities against that miserable People, as soon as she had granted it to him, was a Proof of

of what *Weight* he esteemed her *Alliance*, and that he did not expect to *triumph*, but where she *concurred* with him.

The King of *Spain* also was, at this Time, busied in a War with his Subjects of the low Countries, whom the *Rigours* and *Oppressions* of the Duke *De Alva* his Vice-Roy had so incensed, and alienated from their Allegiance, that they were become *irreconcealable* to his Government.

Both Sides made *Application* to Queen *Elizabeth*. The *haughty King* demanded the Help of her Fleet, to recover the Port-Towns of *Holland*, which *De Alva* (not foreseeing the Danger, or *understanding* the Consequence of) had neglected and lost. This she *refused* peremptorily, but was *content* to gratify him so far, as to prohibit the Confederate *Netherlanders* from *entring* or *sheltering* themselves in any of her Harbours, and obliged any such that were in them, to depart.

But this did not discourage them (having some secret Intimation, that she bore them a *Good-Will*) from becoming *Supplicants* to her in a short Time after, to *compassionate* their *insupportable Grievances*, and procure them a *Redress*.

She did not think it yet a convenient Season for complying openly with their Request; tho' she had determined in her own Breast, to make Use of this Opportunity, for *weakening* and *humbling*

bling this insolent Tyrant, who was aiming at universal Dominion, had a particular Antipathy to her, and was preparing Yokes for all Europe. So for some Time she supplied them clandestinely with Money and Ammunition, and gave private Intimations of her Pleasure, that any of her Subjects might list themselves in the *Dutch* Service: But, tho' this preserved them alive, and kept them from quite sinking, it did not fully answer their Necessities; and the *Spanish* Army had such Advantages over them as threatned their speedy Overthrow.

In this Crisis of their Fate, they turn'd all their Thoughts on some happy Expedient, for improving her Friendship to such a Height, as might engage her professedly to vindicate and espouse their Cause: And as the doing it must unavoidably plunge her into an Ocean of Trouble, and an immense Expence, the offering of themselves and their All into her Hands, would not be too dear a Purchase of so costly a Benefit. Accordingly they deputed a solemn Embassy from their Whole Body, to prostrate themselves at Her Feet, and acknowledging, with the humblest Thankfulness, those former Assurances, which had been hitherto their chief Support, to beseech Her to assume the supreme Dominion of their Provinces, and employ her Sword in their Defence.

C

Tho'

Tho' the Sovereignty they thus tendered to her, was an *attractive Bait*, yet, *knowing that the Imputation of her acting in this great Design, upon a Principle of Ambition, would fully all the Glorious Purposes she had been meditating, and was about to execute,* (while she kept the Thing,) she refused the invidious Title, and contracted a League with them, *in Quality of her Allies*. She agreed to furnish them with Five thousand *Foot*, and One thousand *Horse*, during the War. The Charge of whose Maintenance they were to *refund*, with due Interest, when they had obtained their *Freedom*, and were settled in *Tranquility*.

In the mean-time, the Towns of *Flushing*, *Ramakins*, and *Brill* were delivered up into her Hands, as a Security for her *Imbursements*, and the General that commanded her *Auxiliary Forces*, with Two more of her Subjects, such as she should at *her Pleasure* appoint, were to sit and vote in their Council of *State*. Thus were all the *Punctilios* of Submission and Respect carried to the *utmost Height* in this Address of *theirs* to *Queen Elizabeth*: And, the absolute Subjection to her they were ready to submit to, had never been mentioned to either the *Emperor* or *French King*; to both which *Princes* the *Dutch* had formerly applied; but, *who knowing themselves unequal to the Difficulties they must*

must encounter, thought fit to decline them, and refer the Task to her, who only had a Courage great enough to undertake it.

Her Majesty could not dissemble the *Pleasure* she took in the *Glory* that this reflected on her, and made them very *substantial Returns* for this *Tribute of Honour* which they paid to her. She threw off the Masque, and proclaimed *her self* their *Defender*. And, after she had published to the World, the Justice of those *Measures* she was resolved to pursue, she sent forth her *Fleets* and *Armies*, and, in Concert with those of *Holland*, so prosperously attack'd the *Spaniards*, both in *Europe* and *America*, that in a very little Time, she raised the *suppliant States* to a Condition of Strength and Opulency, equal to their late Master.

This *strange Revolution* in their Circumstances, which all Christendom lookt upon as the *Work of her Hands*, gain'd her the Admiration of all the Powers of it, except the King of *Spain*, in whose *Breast* it excited *fresh* and *implacable Resentment*. As this was what she foresaw; *powerful Antedotes* were in Readiness against the *Venome of them*. She had, with the *Hearts*, and *Purses of her People*, (and well might they be open to her, who never took any Thing out of them, which she did not expend for their own Use) a well

furnished Fleet, and Officers of consummate Skill and Intrepidity.

She chose *DRAKE* her Champion of the Sea, and sent him with Four *great Ships of War* and some *Frigates*, to do what he could upon the *Spanish Coast*. He fell to Work as soon as he got there, surpris'd their Ships, (*I don't mean blockt them up*) and eas'd them of a great Load of Provision that was intended for the Use of their *Army*.

He pursued his *Good Fortune*, and entering the Bay of *Cadiz*, took and destroyed near an Hundred *Transports* that were there, full of Stores and Ammunition. From hence he *strolled* to *Cape St. Vincent*, assaulted and took three Forts, and *burnt* all the Nets and Fisher-Boats upon that Coast, for many Miles. Pleased with his Employment, he made another *happy Trip*, and found himself at the Mouth of the River *Tajo*, and struck such a *Terror* into the poor Marquess of *Santa Cruz*, who was *stationed* there; that he gave up all to his Mercy, and made not the least Resistance; *in short*, he did not give him the Trouble, of so much as *perswading* him to part with what he had in his keeping. He was not yet so tired, but he *made Shift* to get as far as the *Azores*, and make Prize of an *East-India Ship* richly freighted.

While he was so agreeably diverting himself,
Ad-

Admiral *Cavendish*, another *Marine Hero* was following the same Sport : He past the *Magellan* Streights, burnt the *Spanish* Towns upon the Coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nova Hispania*, and took Nineteen Merchant-Ships.

The King of *Spain* was so enraged at the taking these *Liberties* with him, which he had not been used to *before*, that he vowed *he would be more than even with them* ; and accordingly, spent a good Deal of Time, and a Mint of Money (*more than he has been Master of at any Time since*) in building and equipping a more strong and numerous Fleet than had ever yet tried the Sea : With these he intended nothing less than *the subduing of England*, by Way of *Reprizal*.

But this was most carefully concealed *all the While they were fitting it out*, that we, (having no great Suspicion of Danger) might make but little Provision against it. All *Europe* was in an uneasy Suspense as to the *real Design* of it ; but *Wilsingham* only, that *Mirror of Watchfulness* and *Sagacity*, could find out the Means of penetrating into this *momentous Secret*.

This wise Secretary (*thank God we have Two now that are as wise*) was so far from perverting any Thing that was allowed him for *Intelligence* and *secret Service*, that it is commonly thought, *by the Plainness he lived,*
and

and *Poverty he died in*, that he laid out no small Part of his own *honestly gotten Income*, for the Service of his Country in such Kind of Uses.

But, whencesoever the Money came, he never spent any to better Purpose, *than in making this important Discovery*; for, no sooner had he gained it, but, *by another prodigious Stretch of Policy*, he put such a Stop to the Remittance of Money into *Spain*, as stopt the *Progress* of their *Armament* for a whole Year, which gave *Queen Elizabeth* Time to prepare another *great enough* to encounter it.

This *Delay*, tho' so propitious to *England*, did but sharpen the *Spaniards* Appetite, who, *in their own Imaginations*, (as tho' they had already conquer'd it,) did share the Land amongst them.

The Number and Greatness of their Ships, the Abundance of *Arms*, and Multitude of *Forces* that were Aboard them; and, above all, *the Benediction of the Pope*, were, as they thought, sufficient Grounds for their Confidence.

Their Preparations in the Low-Countrys, *which were to bear a Part in this consecrated Expedition*, were proportionably great; and altogether, *they were positive*, could not fail of an assured easie Victory.

On our Side there was no want of *Industry* to *frustrate* and *defeat* them. Part of the *English* Navy were ordered to the Coast of *Flanders*, to prevent the Prince of *Parma* (*the King of Spain's Governour there*) from coming out with his Fleet and Army, to join their other, as had been appointed: And the rest were sent towards the *West*, where *probably* the Enemy would choose to land.

Of the Army, Twenty thousand Men were posted along the *South* Coast, Twenty three thousand were encamp'd at *Tilbury*, and Thirty six thousand remained at *London*, to guard the Queen and City.

When every Thing was *thus provided* for their *Reception*, Her Majesty having a maternal Concern for the Lives of her People, (many Thousands of whom, *it was to be feared*, would fall, if it came to a *general Engagement*) sent Messengers to the Prince of *Parma*, to sound his Inclinations, and to know, *Whether an Accomodation might not be brought about, by his Interposition, between her and the King of Spain, which would prevent a Deluge of Blood, and settle a Friendship and Correspondence between their Kingdoms, that ought to be infinitely more eligible to either of them, than the uncertain Success of a War.*

He received her Envoys with the utmost Complaisance, *profest* to have the greatest
Ve-

Veneration in the World for *their Mistress*, next to his own Sovereign, and that he had not the least Intention of contributing any Thing to the *Prejudice of England*.

As he *imagined* the Queen would suspend her Resolutions, and be uncertain how to proceed, *till the Result of this Negotiation was known*, he believed it would be of Service to his Master, to protract it till the *Spanish Fleet* should be advanc'd pretty far on their Voyage, and almost *ready to seize their Prey*. Accordingly, he deferred from Day to Day, on various *Excuses*, the giving them a Definitive Answer, till he was inform'd, by the *Sound of their Cannon*, that the *Spanish Fleet* was arriv'd on the *English Coast*: And then having (*as he flattered himself*) answered his Ends, he dismiss them.

But he should have known *Queen Elizabeth* better, she was an Over-Match for his *Italian Subtlety*. It was not till every Thing that could be done in a Way of Defence was perfected, that she sent them; and one Branch of their Commission was, *to be a Spy and a Restraint upon him*, so that they were executing their Errand while he was delaying them. And they could scarce reach Home, before this *perfidious Prince* had the unexpected Tidings of *their Mistress's Triumph* over his *Machinations*, and his Master's invincible *Armada*.

The

The first Misfortune it met with was from a Storm, which (tho' none of them perished in it) handled them so *roughly*, that they were *forced* to go into *Harbour* again, to *re-fit*: The Consequence of this had like to have been more pernicious to us than to them; For, the *Disaster* being *represented* to the Queen as *greater than it really was*, she was so perswaded, that they could not recover it before the next Year, that she was *hardly disswaded* from calling in her Fleets, and *disbanding* the Army. And *well was it*, that she did not; for, *in a very few Weeks*, their Damages were all repaired, and they *proceeded again* to Sea; where, *the next Thing we hear of them*, is, *their final and absolute Overtbrow*. For such was the Kindness of Heaven to us, and *such* the Courage Indefatigableness and Skill, both of our *Admirals* and *private Men*, that, that *vast Force* of theirs, consisting of *One hundred thirty four Sail*, Half of which were of an *enormous* Size; *Nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety Soldiers*; *Two thousand and eighty Gallies-Slaves*, and *Two thousand six hundred and thirty Cannon*, was, *in Four several Engagements*, defeated by the *English Fleet*: Which, after they had sunk and taken the Major-Part of them, (*suffering none of them to discharge any Thing else but its Treasure, on English Ground*) pursued the Remainder, *till they were weary of the Chase*, and then left

D

them

them to the *Vengeance of Heaven*, which followed *destroying* them for the rest of the Way: And all this, *with no greater Loss to us*, than of *one* small Ship, and 100 of our Men.

The Queen having, as afore mentioned, *shut up* the Prince of *Parma* in *Flanders*, he employed the Army that was to have served in the late Invasion, in besieging *Berghen-Opzume*, a Town of the State, which had an *English* Garrison in it, under the Command of Lord *Willoughby*; but, the same Success that had crowned her upon the Ocean, *attended* her Arms also here; and her brave Commander obliged that *Prince* to rise from before the Town.

These great, *repeated Successes*, spread her Fame over the whole World, her Name *resounded* in the Courts of *Russia*, *Turkey*, *Persia*, and *Indostan*; nor did those *Eastern Monarchs* forbear congratulating her on the *Felicities* of her Government. Her Grandeur was equalized with that of the old *Roman Senate*. Kings were her *Supplicants*, and all that were *oppressed*, fixed their *Eyes* and *Hopes* on her, as their *Asylum*.

A *few* of her Subjects were stronger than the King of *Spain*, having obtained her Leave, they return'd the *Visit* had been just made to us by his baffled *Armada*, and did not find his Country so impenetrable as some Gentlemen of *late* have taken a great Deal
of

of Pains to *represent* it: They *resolutely* made their Way as far *into it* as they *thought fit*, nor did they leave it, till they had damaged it twenty Times more than the *whole Power of Spain* could hurt *England*.

She was not so absolutely taken up in *vanquishing* of *Spain*, but she had some *Leisure* left to answer the *earnest Applications* of the King of *Navar*, who, on the Death of *Henry III.* laid Claim to the *French Crown* as his *Right*, and was now fighting his Way to it. The *Obstacles* he had to struggle with, were such as he *alone* could not have surmounted; and he had certainly sunk under the *Toil* of them, if she had not *supported* him. Notwithstanding her own *numerous pressing* Occasions, which might have been thought *adequate* to Ten Times her *Revenue*, she spared him such a *Mass* of *Treasure*, as he *himself* was *amazed* at, and lent him an *Army* that made him an *Overbalance* to all his Antagonists. Nor were her Cares *terminated* in her own *Neighbourhood*, but reach'd to the *Moldavians*, whom she *reconciled* by her *Mediation* with the *Grand Seignior*, who had almost ruined them by a heavy War. And *diverted* that *ambitious Prince* from invading the *Poles*, as he was then *threatning* to do.

I now return to the *Spaniards*, who were *no Where* able to *withstand* the *English* Courage, that was *excited* and *improved* by the

Example of their Queen. She sent *Raleigh* with a strong Squadron to *America*, to possess himself of *Panama*, (the Source of these innumerable Riches, that were the Sinews of the King of *Spain's* Strength) or, if he found that impracticable, (for Admirals may have good Orders sometimes, without Opportunities of executing them, as well as good Opportunities without Orders) he was to intercept the Gallions in their Passage Home ; and if they would not be persuaded to disgorge their Treasure, or deliver themselves up to him, he was to seize upon them by Force.

This brave Design was rendered abortive, by the unavoidable Accidents of Tempests, and contrary Winds, which prevented his Arrival in those Parts, till the Season proper to act in it was past : However, he made *Spain* bear the Expence of his Voyage ; for, having recollected his scattered Fleet, he divided it into Two. One he sent, under Sir *Martin Forbusber*, to lie snug upon the Coast, and employ what Force the Spaniards had there, in watching him, and guarding against his landing ; while the other, which he had committed to Sir *John Burroughs*, had nothing else to do, than to take all their Ships that he could find, and they were not a Few. As for *Raleigh* himself, he sailed to *Santa Cruz*, and got a huge Carrack laden with Money for his Pains. *Oh ! that I were able*
to

to raise a Monument to the Memory of these deceased Heroes, whose Names and Actions should be familiar to every Britton, but are no Where now to be found, but in obsolete Histories, or childish Romances. Statutes were the cheap Acknowledgments the Greeks and Romans made to their conquering Generals; the Story of their Atchivements was communicated by these to every Spectator, and an Emulation of excelling or imitating them, inspired into every Beholder's Breast: But we have not learnt their Art of forming the Souls of their very Mob, by those noble Memorandums, to a Sense of Grandeur, and vehement Desire of advancing in their several Stations, the Greatness and Prosperity of their Country,

I ask Pardon for these Digressions, *sed amor patriæ vincit.*

It were endless, to recount the Instances in which the *unfortunate Spaniards* were defeated, or the Number of Ships they lost, (which were then, *I can assure you*, above Forty to our One, and would have made a Ten-Times longer Catalogue, *than that* lately published by the *Writer* of the Conduct, of those which they have, in a few Years past, taken from us) the Riches *thereby* brought into this Nation, refunded all the Coasts of the War, and put Money into its Pockets.

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* would give his Catholick Majesty no Time to *breathe*, or suffer him to be at Rest on any Side. She stirred up *Henry IV. of France* against him: And, at the same Time, sent *Drake* and *Hawkins* into the *West-Indies*. However it was, she had rarely the good Fortune in *that* Region, which always *attended* her Enterprizes in *Europe*; and tho' they did every Thing that they could, they came back without any great Cause of boasting. But, *whatever* Deficiency there might be in the Success of this or the foregoing Expedition, was abundantly repaired, by the *Glory* and *Advantage* of *that* which followed it.

The *Spaniards* had taken *Calais* from the *French*, by a Kind of Surprise, and were *thereby* become nearer Neighbours to Queen *Elizabeth* than she approved of. A Report was also spread, *That they were preparing a second Armada, more formidable than the first, by which they hoped they should not fail to accomplish the Destruction of England.*

Upon *this* the Queen meditated how to prevent and be *before-hand* with them, she made ready One hundred and fifty Ships, of which, Seventeen were of the Line, and sent *them*, with a good Body of Land-Forces, to enquire into the *Truth* and *Greatness* of their Preparations. They carried with them Or-
ders

ders to go in *Quest* of, and destroy all Arms and Provision that might be intended for hurting England, or supplying of Calais: And when they had anoyed the Enemy to the utmost of their Power, in this Way, the Admiral was to detach the Choice of his Capital Ships, to fall upon their Flotilla, coming Home from the *West-Indies*.

I will not pretend to say, That these are of a brisker Strain than those modern Orders against Spain, which the Author of the Conduct has just now obliged the Publick with a Transcript of: But I am sorry the Publick have not an Occasion of congratulating our Admirals upon the like Glory and Success as attended Queen Elizabeth's, in the Execution of them. And it is certainly a most unfortunate Circumstance for them, that in full Two Years Time, they should meet with no Opportunities of signalizing their Valour, and aggrandizing their Country. But since Providence only prevented them, it becomes us to submit.

Our Adventurers, who were, Lord Howard Admiral, and the Earl of Essex General, acted up to the full Height of their Commission. They directed their Course to Calais, and carried along with them, a Boldness of Resolution and Passion for Fame, that was Superior to all Obstructions. They were no sooner arrived at that Bay, than they fell to
Work

upon the *Spanish* Galleys which guarded it, and turn'd them out in a much worse Condition than they found them. And having thus cleared their Way, in spite of the most strenuous Resistance of the *Spaniards*, landed such a Number of Forces, as, after a brisk and vigorous Siege, took and plundered the strong and opulent City of *Cales* it self.

Their next Business was with the Vessels that were in the Harbour, on Board of which lay an infinite Mass of Treasure; These, not being accessible to our great Ships to take, were all of them (except Two which did fall into the *English* Hands, and were carried Home by them) set on Fire, and absolutely perished, the *Spaniards* proffering in vain, a prodigious Sum for sparing them.

From *Cales* the *English* made Inroads many Miles up the Country, and raised a vast Contribution out of it.

When they had, in this Manner, executed all the *Mischief* they could upon their Enemies, they returned to *England* with the Two Galleons they had taken, an Hundred Pieces of large Brass Cannon, the Rich Spoils of *Cales*, and the immense Wealth which had fallen to the Sailors Share in the pillaging that City. How noble an Appearance must these Sons of Mars, and Favourites of Neptune make in the Eyes of their Queen and Fellow-Subjects, when they came Home thus load-

loaded with Trophys, and crowned with immortal Reputation.

But the King of *Spain* made a different Figure in the Eyes of all *Europe*, his Damage and Disgrace was *irretrievable*, Thirteen of his *Men of War*, Forty loaden Ships from the *West-Indies*, and Four others, with his Stores and Ammunition for Sea and Land, were destroyed, and all Opportunity lost for that Year, either of sending the *European* Commodities to *New-Spain*, or of bringing the usual Returns of Treasure from thence.

He could scarce invent a Revenge that might equal the Losses he had sustained; but he thought no Method so likely to accomplish it, as making *Ireland* the Theatre of a War, and inciting the Natives to a Rebellion. This would certainly perplex *Queen Elizabeth's* Affairs, and divert her Strength, which she would then have Employment enough for in suppressing the Rebels at Home. In order to this he repaired his shattered Fleet, made new Levys of Men, in which he intermingled a great many *Irish* Fugitives, put them on Board, and sent them altogether (a terrible Crew) to make a Descent upon that Island: But the Hand of Heaven overtook them, while they were on their Way, and turn'd the Destruction they were carrying to others, upon themselves. The greatest Part

of them perished in a violent Storm, and his Majesty's Project *sunk with them.*

However, the Queen, *upon the Alarm this gave her*, taking the King of Spain's Will for the *Deed*, entred into a League, *offensive and defensive*, against him, with the King of France, and, *the next Year*, sent a Fleet of One hundred and twenty Sail, to pay back *the Compliment he intended her*, but *which* had miscarried in sending. Tho' every Thing *was concerted* at Home, and *conducted* Abroad, in this Expedition, in an unexceptionable Manner, the Fortune of Queen Elizabeth did not accompany it, nor did it return with such an Accumulation of Glory, as the last brought along with it : So here happened a *Disappointment* on both Sides, tho' they were far from being equal.

I do not find that the People, *either in or out* of Parliament, exprest the least Disatisfaction or Resentment against the then Ministry, or the Commanders in this Enterprize, because it failed of Success. Nor is it easie to produce an Instance of their doing so, where there has not been a visible Unskillfulness, Neglect, or Corruption, in the Directions and Measures of the Ministry, or the Behaviour of the Officers employed by them. And since the Observator on the Conduct of Great Britain, has proved to a Demonstration, that both our Ministry and Admirals

(not

(*not to mention Lord Portmore at Gibraltar, whom every Soldier that was in the Siege, and survives, speaks of with Applause, for his Justice and Bounty*) have, in our present Quarrel with Spain, hitherto ordered and done every Thing *that was becoming*, or possible for them, in *their several Stations*, to do. It will be henceforth, *the most unreasonable and insolent Thing in the World*, for any English-Man whatsoever, to *throw out groundless Insinuations and Complaints* against them, which tend to clog the *present triumphant Administration* at Home, and encourage our *Adversaries* Abroad in their *refractory Carriage, and Refusal* of doing us *Justice*. But as since this is *attempted* only by such *pitiful Scriblers* as the *Craftsman* and *Journalists*, (*I beg no one would imagine, that I include Publicola*) in whose *Craftsmen, Craftsman-Extraordinary, &c.* the whole Nation is convinc'd, there is not a *Shadow* of Reasoning: It is to be hoped, that their *Suggestions* will not *preponderate* the *brisk Representations*, or *awful Threatnings* of the *Sagacious Walpole*, or other our *wise and able Ambassadors* in Foreign Courts, or byas Spain and the *Emperor*, to stand out against the *vigorous Resolutions* of our *Prime Minister*, or the *forcible Rhetorick* of a *British Fleet and Army*; but if it were possible, *that they should*, yet this I can

confidently affirm, *That His Majesty's last Speech to the Parliament, and their brave Addresses to him, will sound farther, and influence more than all the Craftsmen or Journalists in the Kingdom ; or else we are indeed in as languishing a Condition as even our Enemies could wish to find us.*

The Case being really thus, *tho' I join with all the good Men of England in my Opinion of the Integrity, Disinterestedness and Candour of the above mentioned Writer ; yet I cannot but express my Dislike of some Passages which have escaped his Pen in that incomparable Performance, and seem to unwary Readers, to hint, as if Danvers and Fog were of greater Consideration in the Courts of Europe, to direct their Deliberations and Proceedings ; and more relied on, for a just Information of the State and Temper of this Country, than our Residents in those Courts ; or those, who direct the Helm of the Government at Home. If I might presume to advise, these Things should be a little qualified in the ensuing Impressions.*

I now resume my Story, which I tell purely for the Sake of making these *incidental Remarks, and Reflections* upon the several Parts of it.

The following Year put a Conclusion to King Philip's Life, who had been *so long the restless Disturber of England ; and who*
had

had met *with so little Success* in any of his *Attempts* against it. His Son succeeded him on the Throne of *Spain*, and inherited also his *Enmity* against *Queen Elizabeth*. The *unfortunate Issue* of his Father's last *Irish Expedition*, did not *discourage* him from *undertaking another*, in the second Year of his Reign. The Forces he sent over, were joined at their Landing, by a vast Number of the *Irish* Septs, who had made *Insurrections*, under the Earl of *Tyrone* and *Odonnald*, their Chiefs; and also, by a great many *Malecontents*, that were the *degenerate Offspring* of the *English*, who had been formerly *transmigrated thither*: But, *contracting* the Temper and Disposition of the *Natives*, and a Fondness of their Customs and Manners, were become equally averse to the Laws and Dominion of *England*, which they now *united with Spain and the Original Irish*, in a traitorous Effort, absolutely to expel and root out of *Ireland*.

The *Courage, Agility, and indefatigable Diligence* of the *Queen's Army there*, broke the Measures of this *curst triple Confederacy*, and *prevented* their effecting it. With much *Difficulty* they brought the *main Body* of the *Enemy* to an *Engagement*; and it happily proved a *decisive One*. The *Royal Army* was little diminished, but the *Spaniards* lay *slaughtered in Heaps*, and the *Irish*

rish ran away in *Thousands*. This *Rout* was followed with a *Surrender* of all such *Places* of *Strength* as the *Enemy* had in *their Hands*. And the *Departure* of the surviving *Spaniards* out of the *Country*, who were *mercifully spared* by the *English*, and *generously sent Home*, on their *Parole*, never to enter that *Kingdom* again in an *Hostile Way*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was above letting *Spain* out-number her in *Invasions*, so she sent, presently after this *Defeat* of the *Spaniards* in *Ireland*, Sir *Richard Levison*, and Sir *William Monson*, with *Eight great Ships* and some *Frigates*, to invade the *Spanish Coasts*, block up *their Harbours*, and annoy their *Trade*,

The *Spaniards* suffered very *sensible Damages* from this *Fleet*, but they would have felt a *great Deal* more, if a *Concurrence* of *Accidents*, which could neither be *foreseen* nor *obviated*, had not prevented it doing them many *Mischiefs* that were *intended* and *provided for*. The *English* reapt no other *Advantage* from it *themselves*, (*except weakening and impoverishing Spain*) but a *Prize* of a *Million of Duckats*, which they took, after *shattering and dispersing* the *Galleys* that were its *Convoy*.

This was *England's* last *Exploit* during the too small *Remnant* of this, and all the fol-

following Reign: For, *our great Heroine* not long surviving it, the Nation's *Valour* seemed to expire *with her*, and its Triumphs cease *with her invaluable Life*.

She died, to the inexpressible *Grief* and *Loss* of her People, but *her Memory is immortal*. Her Character *soars* above the Fame of *Semiramis, Boadicea, or Zenobia*, they were of *supreme Dignity, Magnanimous and Virtuous*, as she was, but they were *finally unfortunate*. She ever *Victorious*, the *Scourge of Tyrants*, the *Patroness of Liberty*, the *Sanctuary of the Oppressed*, and *Deliverer of Nations*.

She was born for the *Glory of England*, and *Reign'd* for an *Example* to all *succeeding Kings*, and none that followed her, have been *rever'd Abroad*, or *belov'd at Home*, but in *Proportion*, as they have copied after her.

She was a *true Judge* of the *proper Interest* of her Kingdoms, and a *cordial Friend* and *Promoter* of it; all *her Views* were directed *that Way*, Nor did she know what it was to *separate theirs* from her own. She had some *Arts in Government*, that (*I had almost said*) were peculiar to herself. She could purchase *whatsoever she needed*, for War or Peace, at the *Market-Price*. She could make such *strict Scrutinys* into the *Receipts and Expences* of her *Exchequer*, that
Em-

Embezlements or *Frauds* in either, were seldom ventured on, But she received the full *Amount*, both of her *stated Revenue*, and all *occasional Benevolencies*, without those *Abatements* which happen so usually thro' the *Knavery* and *Avarice* of Collectors. (In consequence of this good *Huswifery*) she could wage long and expensive Wars, lend large Sums of Money to other Princes, maintain an *august Splendour* in her Court, and pay her *Father's*, *Brother's*, and *Sister's* Debts, without plunging herself into any, or making frequent *Applications* to her *Parliament*, for extraordinary Supplies, or ever mentioning to them, the *Deficiency of Funds*. She could reward Services, gratifie her Courtiers, or enrich her Favourites, upon her own Stock, without giving the rest of her Subjects Cause to complain of their being the worse for it: And for *Forty-five Years* she could do what she pleased, and never, in all that Time, displease her People.

The *Ignorance* or *Neglect* of such Arts as these, has occasioned much *Infelicity* and *Misfortune* to several of her Successors, and no less *Grievance* to the *Common-Wealth*.

Queen *Elizabeth*, at her Death, bequeathed her Dominions to King *James*; but that *Greatness* of Soul, and matchless *Prudence*, which influenced and shone thro' all her Conduct, were not transferr'd to him. He valued

lued himself upon *very different Qualifications, Scholastick Learning, facetious Wit; a pacifick Disposition, and a Craftiness in governing,* which he boasted of very often, and mistook for *genuine Policy*. The surrounding Princes were pleased, *that he was Master of no better Accomplishments;* and saw they had nothing to fear from his *Ambition or Courage*.

The Treasures of *England*, which the late Queen had *expended with such Frugality,* and yet with *such Honour and Success,* in asserting the *Empire of the Seas, protecting and enlarging our Trade, relieving oppressed States and Kingdoms, and humbling our potent Adversaries,* were now *squandred* amongst his *Scotch Followers, and his Favourites,* or thrown away in *pompous but insignificant Embassies, of which this King was remarkably fond, and by which he transacted all his Business Abroad, with his Enemies as well as his Friends.*

During the *Twenty-three Years* of his Reign here, he *discouraged all Military Inclinations and Exercises, entertained no Heroes* in his Court, *affected none to be near him, but those that were of an Effeminate Stamp,* nor *discovered in himself one Instance, thro' all that Time, of a Masculine and brave Constitution:* But *on the contrary,* suffered himself to be *over-reached and insulted by the*

Dutch; trifled with, and contemned by Spain; ridicul'd by the King of France, and triumph'd over unmercifully by the Emperor, in the Affair of Bohemia and the Palatinate.

The *first Six* of these Years were spent in receiving and repaying Compliments on his Accession. Very costly Specimens were given of our *Wealth and Luxury* in the Equipage and Expences of our Ambassadors, who went out on that Occasion; and at Home, every Thing gave Place to *Masques and Interludes, Feasts and Revellings*, which graced the Entertainment of those that were sent hither from Foreign Princes.

In the *Seventh*, He was (in concert with *Henry IV. of France*) Mediator of a Peace between *Spain and Holland*, (a Treaty having been perfected between *Spain and him*, the Year after his coming into England.) The French King acted in it with *Unbyass'dness and Candour*; but King James's Part was mean and insincere. His Plenipotentiaries (not without his Order) were so submissive, and made such Condescensions to the French in all the Points of Ceremony, and manifested so great Partiality to Spain; and Neglect of the Interests of Holland, in the material Parts of their Commission, as expos'd both his Capacity and Honour to very sharp Reflections.

H's

His *Attatchment* to that *Nation*, which had persisted *Forty Years*, in an *Endeavour* to enslave *England*, and destroy the *Protestant Religion*; as it was become *very visible*, so it was an *indelible Blot* in his *Reputation*, and gave all *Europe* an *Idea* of him, as no *bearty Friend* to either.

Count *Gundamor* their *Ambassador*, was a *subtle Sycophant*, and had, by *accomodating* himself to the *Humour* of *King James*, so dextrously *insinuated* himself into his *Affection* and *Confidence*, that he was acquainted with all his *Secrets*, and in a manner guided his *Councils*.

But the *Master-piece* of his *Cunning*, (*which was of greatest Advantage* to *Spain*, and most *Dishonour* and *Detriment* to us) was, his *engaging* our *King* in the *Prosecution* of the *Spanish Match*. He was continually *inculcating* upon him the *Grandeur* and *Advantage* that would *accrue* to his *Family*, by *marrying* his eldest *Son Henry* with the *Daughter* of that *Crown*. The *immature Death* of that *admirable young Prince*, (*of whom we have now an illustrious Copy, equal to the Original, in the Person of his Royal Highness, FREDERICK Prince of Wales, the present Delight and Glory of England; whom GOD preserve to the Throne of it*) put a *Stop* to the *Pursuit* of it at that *Time*: But upon the *Duke of Lerma's* making a

new Proposal, a few Years after, at Madrid, of a Marriage between their *Infanta* and Charles his second Son, the King's *Inclinations* to it reviv'd, and rose to such a Height of *Eagerness*, that he (*unhappily*) discovered to the *Spaniards*, how great an *Ascendency* they had over him.

Digby (afterwards *Earl of Bristol*) who was then his Ambassador in that Court, and to whom the Proposal was made, saw plainly the Drift of *Spain* in it; and, as a wise and faithful Counsellor, forewarn'd his Master of their Design, and what might be the Issue of his going precipitately into it: But King *James* was not disposed to examine into their Views; he had formed to himself a Scheme of arbitrary Government, which he could not put into Practice, till he was above the Need of Parliaments; (*which he was, as yet, forced to call now and then, for the Sake of Supplies to help out his boundless Expences*) and was also assured of Foreign Assistance, that might effectually enable him to suppress any Opposition he might meet with in the executing his Design. The great Sum of Two Millions Sterling, which was to be the *Infanta's* Fortune, and the Promises which were very liberally made by *Spain*, of answering his utmost Expectations in the other Way, were Arguments in Favour of the Match,

which,

which, in his Judgment, far outweighed all Considerations against it.

On the other Hand, The Spaniards finding he had taken the Bait, and that they had thereby fixed him, turned their whole Thoughts upon perplexing and protracting the Negotiations about it: And this they did (on an Infinity of Pretences) for very nigh the Remainder of his Life. All which Time, (so intensely desirous was he of their succeeding, and so afraid they should miscarry) he suffered them to trifle with him as they pleased, and extort from him every Thing they had a-mind to. He suspended the most sacred Lawsof England, in favour of Papists and their Priests, to gratifie them, and dismantled and laid by his Fleet, that had been the Pride of the Ocean, and the Scourge of Spain; lest, by sending it Abroad, or keeping it fit for Use, they should be made uneasy, and this Favourite Alliance hazarded.

The Dutch had their Eyes all along on this Conduct, and saw something, in almost every Step of it, to employ both their Hopes and their Fear. The habitual obsequiousness of his Temper, and his devotedness to Spain, made them dread, lest, if that King (taking Advantage of it) should demand the cautionary Towns of Holland out of his Hands, (as it was more than probable he would, when

when the Truce between the Dutch and them was expired) King James might, either thro' Pique to them, or unwillingness to disoblige the other, be induc'd to deliver them up. Those Keys of their Country which they had pawned to Queen Elizabeth, in their last Extremity, were of so great Moment to them, and would so inevitably open a Door to the Spanish Tyranny overwhelming them again, if ever they should get Possession of them, That this was a most terrible Prospect, and what, above all Things which could befall them, they were concerned to prevent.

On the contrary, the easiness of his Disposition, his pressing want of Money ; and (above all) the frightful Apprehensions the were apprized he had, of those Places becoming (at the Expiration of the Truce between Holland and Spain) an Occasion of embroiling him with the one or other of them, With the latter if he should refuse, with the former if he should give them up, encouraged them to hope he might now be prevailed on to part with them to them, upon their paying so much as (they should pretend) they were able, of the immense Debt that was due upon them.

They made their Proposal of this, first to his Prime Favourite, whom they engaged with a great Present, and many Promises,
to

to perswade his Master to *comply* with it ; but his Majesty was so far from giving him that Trouble, that upon the very *first Mention*, he *leapt* at the Bargain, being extraordinary glad of *any Pretence* to get rid, of what was, in *reality*, a Burthen to him ; so he *surrendered* up to them their Towns, and they paid him *not quite* a Tenth-Part of what they were indebted for them ; a Fourth Part of *which* never came clear out of the Receivers Hands, into his Pocket. By giving up these *important* Pledges, he lost all *Influence* over that State, while it acquired *thereby*, a vast Increase of Strength and Dignity, and an *Ability* of *rivalling* England, in Opulency and Trade.

This *impolitick* Step was followed by another that was *as dishonourable* to King *James*. I mean, the *sacrificing* Sir Walter Raleigh, to the *Pride and Jealousie* of Spain. That *compleat* Soldier and Statesman had been much valued and prefer'd by Queen *Elizabeth* : In the Beginning of this Reign he was *committed* to the Tower, on account of a Conspiracy *he was said* to be *concerned in*, against the new King. Few People thought there was sufficient *Evidence* (upon his Trial) to convict him ; However, he was condemned.

But the King, being advised, *That his Death would be generally regretted by the English*,

glish, who remembred his former Services, and did not believe him guilty of what was now imputed to him, respited his Execution, and changed it to Imprisonment, which he endured Twelve Years in the Tower: When, having by some *chimical* Medicine (in which Art he was an adept) cured Queen Anne of a Distemper, that her Physicians accounted Mortal, and had given her over; he was, in Return for it, set at Liberty.

Being desirous of repairing his ruined Fortune, he formed a Project of an Expedition to *Guiana*, in quest of some Gold Mines, which he had got some Intelligence of, when he was formerly in that Country. King James expecting a considerable Share in the Profits of this Enterprize, (which this unhappy Man too confidently promised him) and not imagining the King of Spain would be affected or offended by it, granted him a Commission under the Great Seal, to undertake it, constituting him his well beloved Sir Walter, Commander of some Ships fitted out for that Service, which Commission stiling him his Trustee, and Well-beloved, was, as Raleigh afterwards pleaded, a Virtual Reversal of his former Attainder. Before he set out, the King required from him a punctual Account of what Place he would land at, and what Force he would carry with him. This was preposterously com-

communicated by some Body or other, to Gundamor the Spanish Ambassador, who dispatch'd Intelligence of it to his Court, which took the *Allarm*, and sent instantly to their Commanders in the *West-Indies*, Orders to be on their Guard, and to fortifie and stop up all Avenues (*especially*) which led to the *Prize* that Raleigh had his *Eye* on. This was so *timely* and *effectually* done, that *when* he got there, he found every Place *impent-
trable*, and lost his Son in a *fruitless Attempt* to force them. Poor Raleigh! How *miserable* was his Fate? Death waiting for him at Home, and Misfortunes worse than Death, accompanying of him Abroad. As soon as the Spaniard had Notice of what he had done, and what had befallen him at Guiana, he put King James into a *dismal Fright*, by declaring, He would look upon this Action of Raleigh's as avowed by him, and a designed Rupture, if immediate Satisfaction were not given; and, that nothing should be accepted for such, but the Life of the Invader. What was to be done in such a Perplexity? It would be an *unparalleled Thing*, to take away the Life of his Servant, for executing a Commission which he had given to him: Besides, this would have amounted to an Acknowledgment of the King of Spain's Right to those Mines, which would be an *implicit* Confession of King James's Injustice in

G

author

authorizing *Raleigh's* Invasion of them. *All this was indigestible.* And yet on the other Hand, his good Brother of Spain must not be *disoblig'd*, or the *Spanish Match* hazarded upon any *Account* whatsoever. To extricate him from this *Dilemma*, it was determined, to apprehend Sir *Walter* when he came back, upon the Score of the old antiquated and cancelled Treason, and (*without saying one Syllable of that which had been lately committed against Spain, and which was the true Reason of this unprecedented Procedure*) to pass Sentence on, and execute him for that. This was accordingly done, to the Wonder of his very Prosecutors, and the Abhorrence of every Body else.

The Carriage of Spain to our King, was noways mended, upon this *tragical Instance* of his Resignation. They still continued to shuffle and trifle with him, raise fresh Difficulties, and start new Objections to the Marriage Treaty, impose on him new Conditions of Agreement; and at the same Time, insolently ridicule and banter him, by scurrilous Libels and Pictures, that they every Where exposed to be laught at. *Is there any Thing like this in the Behaviour of Spain towards England, or of England towards Spain now?*

I have seen odious Hints and Comparisons this Way (*of late*) in some of the Weekly Libels, but they must have very soft Under-

derstandings, that can be *moulded* into such an Opinion. It is with no other Intention that I set to view those Transactions of this Reign, in which we were more especially concern'd, with Foreign Nations, but to shew to every Person who can read, and at the same Time look about them, *That the present Administration (tho', like every Thing else, meerly humane, it may not be free from all Fault) is infinitely unlike to that which I am now giving a brief Account of.* And, tho' I think my Pen as much below a Justification of the Ministry, and their Proceedings, as they are above any Need of it; and that Things of this Nature, should not be publicly debated and discusst, but in Parliament, where only, Appeals against evil and corrupt Ministers should be made: Yet, since Charges are every Day exhibited to the Populace against them, couched sometimes in odious fictitious Characters, other Times, containing a barefaced Arainment of the Maxims on which they act, and their Behaviour in consequence of them. I hope I shall not be to blame, if I endeavour in a few Words, but in a popular Way, to set forth the Weakness and Inconclusiveness of the greatest Part of them: But, that I may not any more interrupt the Thread of my Story, I will refrain from doing this, till I have, in the shortest

Manner that I can, brought it to a Conclusion.

While King *James* continued *unprovok'd*, under all these *Impositions* and *Indignities*, he very groundlessly imagined, *That the States of Holland would submit the Affairs of their Provinces to his Direction and Controul*, tho' he was so *unequal* to the Government of his own. For, *about this Time*, he entred very warmly into a Business of theirs, *with which* he had nothing to do, and *from which* he received fresh Mortifications.

The Doctrines of *Arminius* (cherished by *Barnevelt*, *Grotius*, and some other of their Great Men) were come into Vogue in that Country; and *Vorstius*, a zealous Promoter of them, *was chosen* by the States, *Divinity Professor* at *Leyden*. One would have thought, *there was nothing in all this*, to concern King *James*; but he *would be meddling*, and made pressing Instances to them *by his Ambassador*, and *by several Letters under his own Hand*, to alter *what they had done*, and set him aside.

This being a Matter (as far as our King interested himself in it) purely ecclesiastical, I will go no farther in a *Detail* of its Circumstances; but observe in general, *That his Majesty's Remonstrances, tho' he proceeded to Menaces, had no Effect upon the then high and mighty States, who would not displace*

a Divinity Professor to gratifie him, tho' he had so lately given them their Towns, and forgiven them several Millions.

I hasten to *Bohemia*, which was now shaken with very violent *Convulsions*. The Emperour *Matthias*, their hereditary Prince, had sometime before his Death, abdicated this Kingdom, and transfer'd his Title to his Nephew *Ferdinand*. His Government soon became disagreeable to the *Bobemeans*, who had imbibed a Jealousie of him, as designing to subvert both their Religious and civil Liberties. And so soon as his Uncle deceased, and he was gone into Germany, to take Possession of the Imperial Dignity, in which also he succeeded him; the *Bohemians* pretending he had violated the Contract made between him and the Estates, when he received the Crown, renounced their Allegiance to him, and revolted.

Upon this they offered the Kingdom to *Frederick Count Palatine*, (whom they chose the rather, on the Account of his near Alliance with Great Britain) his Ambition easily prevailed on him to accept of it, and he was crowned at *Prague*. The *English* were universally pleased at his Promotion, and did earnestly, as well as he, sollicite King *James* to employ his utmost Power, for establishing him in his new Dignity, against his Rival *Ferdinand*, who was making formidable
Pre-

Préparations to dispossess him. They urged, what an Honour the doing this would reflect on himself, and how *powerfully* it would *inforce* the *Protestant Interest* (now languishing) in *Germany*.

King *James*, in excuse of his *Backwardness* to engage in his Son in Law's Quarrel, pretended it was not a justifiable One, that the *Bohemians* were Rebels in casting of *Ferdinand's* Authority, and the *Palatine* had done ill, and acted against his *Advice*, in assuming it; but he would send an Ambassador to *Ferdinand*, to persuade him to forbear any *Hostilities* against him, if he would quietly resign the Kingdom, and return to his Electorate.

While he was providing and fitting out this Embassy, the Emperor *Ferdinand*, whom it was to persuade to desist from Hostilities, was actually carrying them on, with great *Eagerness* and *Success*, against the *Palatine*, from whom he soon recovered *Bohemia*, by the decisive Battle of *Prague*.

The *Palatinate* also being forfeited into *Ferdinand's* Hands, under the Notion of *Frederick's* being a Rebel against the *Empire*, and conquered for him by *Spinola*, he divided and shared it between the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, as a Reward for the Assistance they had given him in this fortunate War: So that this excellent, but unhappy Prince

Prince, when he was defeated at Prague, and could, only by a precipitate Flight, save himself and his miserable Family, out of the Victor's Power and Revenge, had no nearer Retreat than Holland, to the Prince of Orange, who munificently entertained and relieved the Royal Fugitives.

King James, since he would do nothing to save the Palatinate, was earnestly importuned by his own Subjects, as well as King Frederick, to try to recover it: But, tho' he now and then talk'd big, and threatned very terrible Things to Ferdinand, if he did not restore to his Children, at least *their own* Patrimony, and the Electoral Dignity: Yet his natural Antipathy to Arms, and his Dread of breaking with Spain, who was inseparably linked with the Emperor, together with his Confidence in that King's artful Pretences, that all Troubles should be composed, and Interests adjusted by a Treaty; and that Ferdinand, with the Princes who now possess the Electorate, should submit their Pretensions and Claims implicitly to his Arbitration, as effectually restrained him from doing any Thing to retrieve their Misfortunes, as it had done from endeavouring (in the Way that he should) to prevent them.

However, he went on at the old Rate, with Ambassadors, whom he dispatch'd, one on the Heels of another, to the King of Spain
and

and the *Emperor*, upon *Messages* about the *Match* and the *Palatinate*, which they only laught at, nor ever intended to give any *determinate Reply* to: Nor could his repeated *Experience* of the *Inefficacy* of this Method, to bring those Things which he so ardently longed after, to the desired *Issue*, prevail with him to exchange it for that of Force, which, 'tis Ten thousand to one, would not have failed him; but he continued in this wretched *despicable Uncertainty*, till his Son *Charles's* Voyage to *Spain* changed the Scene, and brought Things to something like a *Determination*, tho' it was the most *disagreeable* one that could be to King *James*: For that Journey, instead of removing all *Obstructions* to the *Match*, bringing that and the *Business* of the *Palatinate* to a speedy and happy *Issue*, and cementing an *inviolable Friendship* between the Two Crowns, as was expected, and promised from it, when it was undertaken, proved, on the contrary, the unlucky Occasion of absolutely dissolving the Alliance which had subsisted so many Years between them, cancelling all Proceedings about the *Match*, and embroyling King *James* and the Nation, in a foolish unseasonable War with them; which was industriously avoided under real sufficient Provocations, and now precipitately entred into, just when it became unreasonable and needless.

While

While this was in *Agitation*, and Preparations making to *prosecute it*, a more *provoking Incentive*, than any Thing lately done by *Spain*, was offered by the *Dutch*, for turning the Arms of *England* against them: For, at this Time, they perpetrated the memorable inhumane Butchery of the *English* Factory at *Amboina*, when they wrested that and other Places in the *East-Indies*, together with the whole *Spice Trade*, out of our Hands, nothing could have emboldned them to commit so unjust and barbarous a Fact, but their Knowledge of King *James's* Indolence and Pusillanimity, added to the present Incumbrance of his Affairs by the *Spanish* Quarrel; and the Sentiments he expressed, when the Tydings of this Tragedy were brought to him, set them perfectly at Ease, if they had formed any Apprehensions before, of his calling them to an Account, and retaliating it upon them. He only sent Word to the *Dutch* Ambassador, That he had never heard or read of a more cruel and impious Act, than that of *Amboina*, but he did forgive them, and he hoped *GOD* would, but his Son's Son should revenge this Blood, and punish this horrid Massacre. This was a very improper and unseasonable Strain of Charity, or rather Unconcernedness, in a King and Parent of a Country; Here were several of his People most cruelly murdered, others tortured, and a great Number sold into Bondage, and their Pos-

H

sessions

sessions of some Hundred Thousand Pounds Value, ravished from them, and their Prince, who should have been the Asserter of their Rights, and Avenger of their Injuries, heroically forgiving it all, and referring the Punishment of it to his Grandson, who happened to value it as little as himself. How despicable a Figure must England make under so Tame-spirited a Monarch? And how different a one does she make at this Day, when the Spaniards are constrained, by the Terror of her Fleets, to deliver up to the South Sea Company its Ships and Effects which they had seized on; and the Emperor is offering to suspend a Trade and Company, highly advantageous to himself and his Dominions, rather than incur the Resentments of our Magnanimous King, who will bear with nothing that may diminish the Wealth, and interfere with the Commerce of his Subjects.

I have not mentioned Amboina with the least Design of reviving or aggravating Prejudices in the Breasts of any, against a Nation which I really love my self, and which has done us Services great enough since; to atone for it; but because it lay unavoidable, in the Way of one Part of my Design in this Pamphlet, which is, to shew, That England can never keep up its Credit with Foreign States, or prevent them from encroaching on its Trade, or invading its Possessions, if its King does not manifest an Impatience of Insults, and a Resolution, as well as Ability, to revenge them.

And

And, as we may easily imagine, *how contemptible its Condition had been now, if his present Majesty had not, in numerous Instances, shewn such a Disposition; So we see with Joy, how it rises in its Lustre and Influence, meerly by the Force of it.*

All King James's Hopes of marrying his Son with the *Infanta* of Spain vanishing, upon his entring into a War with that Crown, a *Match* was next thought of for that Prince, with the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, Sister to the then *French King*; and the Earl of *Holland* was sent over to that Court, to treat about it. They were, *in Truth*, as forward on their Part, to such an Alliance, as our King himself could be, but *they were wise enough to conceal it*; and the Crafty *Richlieu*, who was their Plenipotentiary in the Affair, discovering King James's excessive Fondness of it, and *believing he would comply with any Thing rather than be disappointed*, put on a Shew of Indifferency to the Matter, on Purpose to increase King James's Eagerness in it, and then ventured to propose and insist on several Things, *as Terms of Agreement*, for the Advantage of his Master, the young Lady, and the Catholick Cause, beyond any Thing which *Spain* itself had ever pretended to: And so solicitous was King James, for the Success of this Negotiation, and so afraid, lest by any Thing his Son's Marriage should be a Second Time frustrated, that, *without suffering himself*

self to be restrained by any Considerations whatsoever, he, with little or no Reserve, consented to every Thing which the Cardinal demanded.

His Majesty had no Return for this Condescension of his, which was so beneficial to them, but the solemn Promises of the Most Christian King, to take Part with him against the Spaniards; and also, to assist him in recovering the Palatinate from the Emperor, both by giving his Armies free Passage thro' France into Germany, and by inforcing them with his own, which should act vigorously in concert with them.

Upon the Credit of these Engagements, (of the Sincerity of which we shall presently see a Specimen.) King James levied a Gallant Army, to send, by the Way of Calais, into the Palatinate, under the Command of Count Mansfield, who had come into England a While before, to sollicite them for the Service of the Palgrave. The Shipping of them off was a long Time deferred, at the Instance of the French King, upon one Pretence and another: And when, after a long Delay, they were at Length put on Board, and transported to Calais, They were not allowed to disembark there; but, after a tedious waiting before the Town, were forced to put out again to Sea. By this enormous Breach of the Word and Faith of the Most Christian King, all his Britannick Majesty's kind Endeavours for the Relief of his distressed Son in Law, were rendered

dered ineffectual, and some Thousands of Lives destroyed: For, these unfortunate Souls proceeded to Zealand, believing they might find a landing Place there; but, there being no previous Notice given of their coming, their Number great, and Provision at that Time dear in the Country, they could not be admitted. By this long Confinement in so narrow a Compass, they contracted a Pestilential Distemper, by which, above Eight thousand of them perished on Board the Ships, and the Remainder, as soon as they could get free, dispersed Abroad: King James did not live to see their wretched Catastrophy; for, soon after their Departure from England, he was seized with a Tertian Ague, that in a very few Days, put a Period to his unactive inglorious Life and Reign. A Reign, which all true English Men may heartily wish never to see imitated, in the Maxims or Measures of it, upon the Throne of Great Britain; but which may, however, together with the glorious one that preceeded it, serve as a Rule and Test, whereby to judge of the present or any other Administration: For, as like Causes are productive of like Effects, so whenever our National Circumstances bear a Similitude to what they were, in the one or the other of them, we may safely conclude, that the Principles on which they are conducted, are nearly the same with those that did then prevail.

I am exceeding sorry, that I have not Room in this Place, where it would so properly

I
come

come in, to enter, according to my *Intention and Promise*, into an humble *Justification* of the present Ministry, against the *Railing and Calumnys* of a few *disappointed Whigs* (as the inimitable *Publicola* calls them) or *disaffected Scriblers*. It is with great *Ease* that I could demonstrate to the meanest Capacities, *That in all their Proceedings and Transactions, both at Home and Abroad, they are no Way inferior in Seditious, Integrity and Skill, to their renowned Predecessors, in the same Stations and Posts, whom the great Queen Elizabeth employed; and are diametrically the Reverse of those, that, in the Times of her Successor, made a Property of their Prince, and sold the Honour of their Country.*

But, since their Character brightens every Day more and more, and all *England*, as it knows them, and their Designs better, encreases visibly in its Esteem of, and Gratitude to them, they have very little Need of such Advocates, or mean *Panegyrist*s as I; and the *Murmurs and Snarling* of a few, will soon be drown'd, amidst the *Acclamations* of *Thousands*.

F I N I S